554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu. An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.
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[114
196]

impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft 554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance, 571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are • 685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to [578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years
571 of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
578 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle,
● [685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

Batak OD5
Minangkabau OD10
Portuguese Timor OF4

Nias OD11
Halmahera OH12
Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

N [452 cont.]
684 catches them in the act, and even calls for assistance if he believes that the adulterer is too strong. Finally, we should also
H mention the Alfoer of Halmahera; adultery is usually followed
684 by murder, which is not punishable provided it is done in continenti. No less than for adultery, the law of vengeance is applicable for theft, but again only immediately following the deed. This was formerly the rule on Java. As the law stood
J on Java before the supposed arrival of Adji Såkå,
685 it was lawful to take the life of a thief who was caught flagrante delicto.
MK The Makassarese rapang also awards this right to the victim,
Bl and the provision in the law code Dewa danda of the Balinese
Bt 685 is no less clear in this respect. Of the peoples of Sumatra, the Batak should be mentioned first. It is permissible to kill immediately a thief who is caught in the act, but once he is held, his life must be honored. This is to be compared with the custom that existed among the Minangkabau Malays of
Mb central Sumatra before the establishment of our authority;
685 upon the discovery of a theft while a market was being held, everyone there had the right to give the detected thief a blow with the fist. Since there was generally a multitude of persons at such places, it very rarely happened that the offender survived; usually he lost his life. Among the Pasemah people, too, we find the provision that [453] anyone is free to kill someone attempting a burglary. This is also the case
N among the Niassans and on Portuguese Timor. We therefore
DT see that the law of vengeance is still applied for adultery and
684 theft, as long as it is exercised in continenti. This is also the
685 case for some other offenses. For example, the laws of Adji
MK Såkå state that if someone kills another during a dispute and
I 685 is caught in the act, the relatives have the right to kill him. If he can escape and reach the village chief, then, if a man, he is fined five tahil, if a woman three and a half tahil. The Makassarese rapang also grants this right, papuli, to the relatives of the slain.

Nias OD11
Minangkabau OD10
Redjang-Lampong OD12
Makassar OG6
Batak OD5

N [461 cont.]
682 on the third day, then the death penalty is executed. This execution is not done by the victim's relatives, but is handled by
Mn I [682 the public authorities. Among other peoples, too, it is the rule
567] to put the culprit to death if the wergild is not paid in full. Where this is not desired, he is made a slave or bondman of the chief or of the person in whose favor the sentence was pronounced, as is the case, as we have seen, among the Malays, for example.

Mn I 682 651 It is self-evident that the wergild reverts to the relatives of the murdered person. It is a rule among some peoples, however, that part of it is granted to the chiefs who passed the sentence. We find an example of this among the Minangkabau Malays. Where this rule does not exist, an extra fine is not infrequently imposed on the culprit on behalf of the chiefs. We
RL find this mentioned for the Redjang and the people of Pasemah.
Mn 682 651 Also, in various regions of Benkulen, homicide is punished, not only by the bangun, but also by a fine to [462] the council of chiefs. Of the peoples outside Sumatra, we want to call attention only to the Makassarese and the Buginese. When the party
MK 682 guilty of homicide is sentenced to pay the sapu or tokkong, the wergild, a fine is also imposed, which is as large as the wergild and is called tonra. This word, at least in Buginese, actually means "to draw on, to drag on"; the fine is called this because it is dragged on by the sapu or tokkong, that is, it follows the sapu or tokkong.

I Mn 683 We can be brief about bodily injuries. As in the case of
Mn homicide, this, too, requires the payment of some compensation,
RL called pampas among the Minangkabau Malays. The amount de-
N MK pends primarily on the nature of the injuries inflicted.

I There are two more crimes to be noted, theft and adultery.
DC As we have seen above, the law of vengeance is still generally
● 685 applied upon discovery in the act. If this law is not applied, then among some peoples the punishment for this crime is simply the return of what was stolen or its value in compensation, and if the thief cannot do this, then to serve the owner as slave or bondman. Among a few peoples, besides the return of what was

Redjang-Lampong OD12
Minangkabau OD10
Nias OD11
Makassar OD6
Batak OD5

RL [462 cont.]
Mm stolen or compensation for it, generally double its value, there
N is also a fine, for example, among the Makassarese and Bugi-
MK nese, the Niassans, the Redjang, the people of Pasemah, the
Bt Minangkabau Malays, and the Batak.
I
685

As we have already noted, just as for theft, the law of ven-
I geance is also generally applied for adultery upon discovery in
684 the act. In all other cases, the culprits are simply fined. If the fine is not paid, they are made slaves or bondmen or sometimes put to death. Among some peoples, the adulterer is obliged to marry the adulterous woman and to refund to the injured spouse the bride price for which she was originally purchased.

RL In the case of the wergild, as well as the compensation for
I other crimes, as we have already [463] noted and as is clearly
681 shown by the information, the civil-law character of the punish-
671 ment stands in the foreground. The crime is not regarded as having been committed against the community, against society, but against specific persons. On the other hand, the notion that the crime has injured public feeling, that the peace of the people has been disturbed, and that a fine should be paid for it is not wholly foreign to a few peoples. Therefore an appeasement payment, a peace payment, is imposed on the culprit. We find this mentioned principally among the tribes of South Sumatra,
RL the Redjang, the people of Pasemah, and the Lampong. For ex-
682 ample, among them homicide is punished not only by the bangun
683 and the fine on behalf of the judges, but with the so-called
684 tĕpung bumi, or more precisely tĕpung tawar bumi. This consists of a feast in which the general populace, or at least the chiefs, participate. The meaning is shown by the name itself; tĕpung tawar bumi signifies "means by which the earth is cleansed," that is, of all evils which might follow from the crime. It is thus an appeasement and peace payment. Besides homicide, this fine is required for other crimes, especially for bodily injuries and adultery.

The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for Kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali,guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them.

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The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail.

691 685

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous.
226 After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.